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Such a rich and venerable civilization could not but have had a tremendous influence on surrounding nations. Over the nomadic and warlike tribes, who were held in check only by repeated chastisements, it must have exercised a sort of magical power, while the more remote, civilized nations were naturally incited to emulation. This is strikingly shown in the temple architecture of the northern neighbors of the Assyrians and by the fact that the cuneiform writing was adopted by peoples living in Armenia, Cappadocia and Elamite districts, and that it was developed into a syllabic system by the Persians. The question is still an open one whether the so-called Phœnician alphabet originated from the cuneiform. Be this as it may, there is abundant evidence that Babylonian scholars were the teachers of the west. Their religious conceptions influenced the philosophy and theosophy of Greece and Rome. Of their influence upon the east, we are not so sure, yet there are collateral evidences that the old Persians, the Medes and the Elamites owed certain elements of their civilization to them. The connection with India has been noticed, and it is thought that Chaldean astrology penetrated to China; without hazarding a judgment, this seems not improbable, for the intercourse of the nations of antiquity seems to have been much more general than has hitherto been imagined.

But it is especially for the history and development of art that the productions of Babylonia and Assyria are of commanding importance. It has long been recognized by specialists that the oldest Greek art is closely related through its prototypes in Asia Minor with the Babylonian-Assyrian, and further investigations but multiply the proofs. Motives and types can be pointed out which the Chaldean artists created, and which found their way through Syria, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor to Greece and Rome. They were again revived in the art of the Renaissance and have been passed down to us, upon whom the ends of the world have come.

A people which not only played such a magnificent part in the history of states, but exercised such a wide-reaching influence upon the development of culture, deserves to be better known, and though the sources for the study of important periods are still but fragmentary, yet persistent and strictly methodical investigation in the gray mists of antiquity as well as in the records of later centuries will shed abroad more light and enable us to corroborate what we possess and complete what is lacking.

OLD TESTAMENT WORD-STUDIES: 9. ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

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The Old Testament clearly reveals the existence of finite spirits intermediate between God and man, and characterized by opposite moral tendencies. The good are the servants of God, swift to do his pleasure, the evil are hostile to his government. Of their origin no explicit information is given. We know, however, that their creation antedated that of man. The angelology of the Old Testament bears clear traces of development, assuming greater prominence and more

varied and special forms after the Jews had come into contact with Babylonian and Persian influences. In the majority of instances it will be found difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact meaning of the terms employed. This difficulty springs in large measure from our limited knowledge of the spiritual world, and from the impossibility of conveying adequate conceptions of facts and phenomena that transcend human experience.

Rû(ă)h rā'āh *evil spirit.*

The most general or indefinite term for a spiritual being is **rû(ă)h**. The spirit, like the wind, was an invisible, immaterial agent whose presence was perceived only by its effects. Unquestionably the Hebrew mind conceived of God as a spirit, although the Old Testament contains no explicit declaration to that effect, as does the New, John 4:24. Nor is there an instance in the Old Testament where a holy angel is called a **rû(ă)h**. The passage in Ps. 104:4, "who maketh his angels spirits," a rendering in which the A. V. follows the LXX., is universally taken by modern interpreters as referring to the winds and the lightnings which are the avant-couriers of Him "Who maketh the clouds his chariot." On the contrary a wicked spirit is called **rû(ă)h**, "I will be a lying spirit, **rû(ă)h shēqēr**, in the mouth of all his prophets," 1 Kgs. 22:22. The phrase **rû(ă)h rā'āh**, evil spirit, "And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem," Jud. 9:23, "An evil spirit from Jehovah terrified" Saul, 1 Sam. 16:14, does not seem to refer so much to a personal spirit as to a bitter feud in the one case, and to a mental disorder in the other. In the latter case it is, indeed, spoken of both as a spirit of God, **rû(ă)h 'ēlōhîm**, and as a spirit of evil, **rû(ă)h hārā'āh**, v. 23. It is not unlikely, however, that, as in the cases of demoniacal possession in the New Testament times, the physical malady was at least intensified by the sufferer being delivered into the power of a personal evil spirit, if it was not wholly the result of it.

Māl'ākh *messenger, angel.*

As **rû(ă)h** is the most general, so **māl'ākh** is the most frequent designation of a superhuman, spiritual being, Gen. 21:17; 28:12; 32:1(2); Ps. 91:11, etc. In every instance it designated those whose moral attributes were good. In about one-half of its numerous occurrences it is translated "messenger," being so rendered in the case of human agents entrusted with communications from one person to another. But in the case of spiritual beings sent from God to accomplish his pleasure, or to convey his word to men, the same word is used, the Hebrew having developed no distinct term for a superhuman as distinguished from a human messenger. A single exception to the employment of this term as a designation of good angels seems to be found in Ps. 78:49, "He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger . . . by sending **māl'ākhēy rā'im**." This phrase should not be rendered "evil angels," as in the A. V., but "angels of evil," R. V., or "misfortune." They were God's messengers sent to chastise Israel on account of their sins. In Pss. 103:20, 22, and 148:2 the poet seems to conceive of the **māl'ākhîm** as an inner circle of exalted spirits, called **gīb-bōrîm khō(ă)h**, heroes in strength, who stand about Jehovah intent on his word and hastening to fulfill his bidding.

Māl'ākh Jehōvāh *angel of Jehovah.*

This phrase occurs above fifty times and seems to be synonymous with māl'ākh 'ēlōhīm, angel of God. In the Pentateuch these expressions, according to the documentary hypothesis, are characteristic in the one case of the Jehovistic fragments (J, Dillman C), and in the other of the older Elohistie (E, Dill. B). In Jud. 6:12,20; 13:3-16, they are used interchangeably. The unique phrase "angel of his presence," or "face," Isa. 63:9, is probably identical in meaning with "angel of Jehovah." "It seems to be certain that the expression 'the Face (or, the Name) of God' is not merely metaphorical, but the common mythic phrase of the early Semites for the self-manifesting aspect of the divine nature, and that when the later Old Testament writers discarded mythic phraseology, they gave a similar content to the term 'angel.' In the phrase 'angel of his Face,' we seem to have a confusion of two forms of expression incident to a midway stage of revelation." (Cheyne *in loc.*) No phrase in the Old Testament has received such extensive discussion. From the time of the early Fathers wide differences as to its exact theological import have prevailed, and still continue. Any adequate examination of its use would require too much space, and belongs more properly to the department of Old Testament Theology. Cf. Oehler, §§59,61.

Māhānāyīm, ts'bhā'ōth *hosts.*

Māhānāyīm, the prevailing designation of a military camp occurs twice in the dual form and with a peculiar signification. In Gen. 32:1,2, it is said that after Jacob had parted with Laban he went on his way, "and the angels of God met him. And Jacob said when he saw them, this is God's host, māhānāyīm 'ēlōhīm, and he called the name of that place Māhānāyīm," i. e. the two hosts, having reference probably to his own camp and that of the angelic host encamped around him for his protection. The dual occurs also in Cant. 6:13 (7:1), "Why will ye look upon the Shulamite, as upon the dance of the māhānāyīm?" In view of the fact that this term became in later Hebrew a common designation of "the angels" the passage seems to imply that the beauty of the Shulamite occasioned the same wondering admiration as might a vision of an angelic dance. Probably there is here an implied reference to Gen. 32:2, and to the song of the bēnēy 'ēlōhīm, the sons of God mentioned in Job 38:7.

The verb tsābhā' meant primarily to go forth, especially to war, Num. 31:7,42, whence the substantive came to mean, first, military service, war; and secondly, the men employed in such service, an army, a host. Gradually the meaning was extended so as to include angelic beings, "I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven, kōl-ts'bhā' hāshāhāmāyīm, standing on his right hand and on his left," 1 Kgs. 22:19. Cf. Ps. 148:2. These celestial spirits had in the physical universe their correlatives in the heavenly luminaries. Hence the sun, the moon, and the stars are likewise called "the host of heaven," Deut. 4:9; 2 Kgs. 23:5; Jer. 8:2, etc. Sometimes the two meanings blend almost inseparably, as in Job 38:6,7, "Who laid the corner-stone thereof, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" The most frequent occurrence of the term in this sense is in the appellation J'ehōvāh ts'bhā'ōth, Jehovah of hosts. It does not occur at all in the Hexateuch or in Judges, being found for the first time in 1 Sam. 1:11; but in the later prophetic literature, especially Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and

Malachi, it becomes a stereotyped designation of Israel's God. Amos never uses the simple phrase "Jehovah of hosts," but "Jehovah Elohim of hosts," or "Adonai Jehovah Elohim of hosts." It is a little remarkable that over against the frequent occurrence of this phrase in the prophets just mentioned, it is not employed in a single instance by Ezekiel or Daniel. Two interpretations have been suggested, the one contemplating Jehovah as leader of Israel's armies, the other as commander of the heavenly host. The latter probably contains the real meaning, and may be understood as including all the celestial powers, both spiritual and siderial.

K[^]rubhîm cherubim.

The absence of a Hebrew stem from which to derive this word makes the etymology word exceedingly obscure. Many derivations have been suggested, but all are conjectural, and none entirely satisfactory. The cherubim are first mentioned in Gen. 3:24 as guarding the way to the tree of life. Images of the cherubim are next spoken of in connection with the ark of the covenant whose mercy-seat was overshadowed by their outstretched wings, Ex. 25:18-22; 37:7-9. In the most holy place of Solomon's temple two colossal cherubim stood on the floor at opposite sides of the room, facing each other, and covering the intervening space with their outspread wings, 1 Kgs. 6:23-28. The walls and doors were also covered with figures of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers, vs. 29-35. The same ornamentation is described in Ezek. 41:18-25. In Ezekiel's visions, chs. 1 and 10, where the cherubim are presented in strangely complicated forms, they constitute the living chariot-throne upon which the God of Israel rides forth in glory. Cf. Ps. 18:10 (11). From these and other references it may be gathered that the cherubim "nowhere appear developed into independent personality, like the māl'āk hîm; they are not sent out like these, but are constantly confined to the seat of the divine habitation, and the manifestation of the Divine Being," (Oehler, O. T. Theol. § 119); secondly, the images of the cherubim in the tabernacle and in the temple were not idolatrous representations of Jehovah, for the whole genius of the Hebrew religion was hostile to sensuous representations of the invisible and spiritual God; thirdly, these cherubic images, as well as the cherubim that kept the way to the tree of life, seem to represent the innermost flaming circle by which the immutable holiness of the Creator declares its inaccessibility to the sinful consciousness of the creature; fourthly, as "living creatures," ḥăyî ōt̃h, the ζῶα of the Apocalypse, they seem to symbolize that omnipotent and omniscient creative life which, flowing forth into the universe in inexhaustible vital power, displays the glory of the ever-living God; and fifthly, whatever suggestions the Hebrews might have received from the winged lions and bulls of Assyria and Babylon, or from the sphinxes at the entrances to the Egyptian temples, it is certain that these suggestions when admitted into the sphere of revelation assumed entirely new and far higher significations.

Š[^]rāphîm seraphim.

The š[^]rāphîm are mentioned in Isa. 6:2,6. Aside from these places the word šārāph occurs only in Num. 21:6,8; Deut. 8:15; Isa. 14:29; 30:6, and is descriptive of serpents whose venomous bite produced excruciating agony, as if of fire in the flesh. The š[^]rāphîm, from šārāph, to burn, would then, according to the popular notion, denote the "burning ones," at first sight identical with

the cherubim, whose "appearance was like burning coals of fire," Ezek. 1:13. A closer examination shows that they were not identical. The cherubim are represented as occupying a place underneath Jehovah; the seraphim stand above him. The latter seem to possess a more independent, self-conscious personality. They appear, not simply as the fiery guardians of the divine holiness, but as exalted spirits whose unceasing employment is the proclamation of this holiness. Unlike the cherubim, they are sent to perform Jehovah's will, to inspire his shrinking human messenger with courage to assume the task assigned to him. On the relation of the cherubim to the storm-clouds, and of the seraphim to the fiery serpent-like lightning, as presented in the early and long popular solar mythology of the Semitic nations, see Cheyne's *Isaiah*, Vol. II., pp. 296-299.

Šātān adversary, Satan.

Primarily this word meant an opposer, adversary, "The angel of the Lord placed himself in the way for an adversary, *l'sātān*, against" Balaam, Num. 22:22. In later Hebrew literature it occurs as a designation of an evil spirit, hostile alike to God's gracious purposes in the world, and to the men by whom these purposes were accomplished. The *šātān* who tempted David to number Israel, 1 Chron. 21:1, cannot be regarded as a human adversary, like the *šātān* in 1 Kgs. 11:23,25. In the first and second chapters of Job, and in Zech. 3:1,2, the use of the article, *h'sātān*, shows that the term was employed as a proper name. A comparison of 2 Sam. 24:1 with 1 Chron. 21:1 shows that the doctrine of a personal Satan was a late development unknown to the older historian who seemed to have only a vague conception of "an evil spirit from Jehovah," 1 Sam. 16:14-23, to which there was not as yet attributed a concrete personality, much less a place of pre-eminence in a fully developed system of demonology.

Šā'ir satyr, lîlîth night-monster.

Both of these were products of popular superstition. The former term is the usual designation of the he-goat, meaning the *hairy* one. Esau is called an *'îsh šā'ir*, a *hairy* man, Gen. 27:11. The *s'irîm*, satyrs, were supposed to be goat-shaped demons inhabiting ruins and desolate places, Isa. 13:21; 34:14. From Lev. 17:7, and 2 Chron. 11:15 we learn that they were objects of popular worship. The *lîlîth* is mentioned only in Isa. 34:14, and is supposed in the A. V. to be the "screech owl" and in the R. V. to be some sort of "night monster." According to the Rabbins the *lîlîth* was a night-spectre that assumed the form of a beautiful woman who enticed children into her presence and, like the Lamia, murdered them.